Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4011th Meeting
Thursday, 10 June 1999, 3.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Jagne	(Gambia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Slovenia	Mr. Türk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Burleigh

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998) and 1239 (1999)

Letter dated 6 May 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/516)

Letter dated 5 June 1999 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1999/646)

Letter dated 7 June 1999 from the Permanent Representative of Germany to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/649)

Letter dated 10 June 1999 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1999/663)

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The meeting was resumed at 3.45 p.m.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Germany. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kastrup (Germany): I speak on behalf of the European Union. The following countries align themselves with this statement: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Cyprus, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

The adoption of the resolution before the Council today marked a moment of high importance not only to Europe, but also to the United Nations. The door to peace in south-eastern Europe is being opened. Today's decision provides an opportunity to reverse the enormous humanitarian disaster which we have seen unfolding in Kosovo. Some 1.5 million people have been forced to leave their homes as a result of ethnic cleansing and mass forced expulsions. More than 500,000 persons are displaced inside the province — a place which, as Under-Secretary-General Vieira de Mello reported to the Security Council last week, is now a depressing panorama of empty villages, burned houses, looted shops, wandering livestock and unattended farms. Too many men, women and children have been killed, harassed and forced to flee the country as a result of the criminal and barbaric acts perpetrated by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

This humanitarian tragedy of enormous scale, and especially the repression of the civilian population in Kosovo, began last year and resumed with increasing intensity from the beginning of March this year. This, and the repeated violations of Security Council resolutions, led the North Atlantic Alliance to take military action in support of the objectives of the international community. This necessary and warranted action, in combination with diplomatic activity, has brought about the agreement of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to withdraw all military, police and paramilitary forces, thereby creating the conditions for the return of hundreds of thousands of Kosovars driven out of Kosovo.

Let us be quite clear: Full responsibility for this situation lies entirely with President Milosevic and his regime. The European Union firmly believes that all those who planned, authorized and executed this campaign of forced deportation, torture and murder should be held personally accountable and brought to justice before the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and demands full cooperation with the Tribunal by all concerned.

The European Union has been instrumental in bringing diplomatic efforts to fruition. It wishes to congratulate its emissary, President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, as well as Mr. Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation, for the success of their démarche in Belgrade. Our gratitude goes also to United States Deputy Secretary of State Talbott for his relentless efforts.

The European Union has also consistently worked to bring the political substance of the Kosovo issue back to the Security Council. It is gratified to see the Security Council assuming the functions foreseen by the United Nations Charter and urges the Security Council to show unity and coherence in its further handling of this crisis. The European Union affirms its full support for the solution to the Kosovo crisis outlined in the resolution and calls upon the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and all Kosovo Albanians fully and unconditionally to cooperate with the international security presence and the international civil presence to that end.

Kosovo will remain a focus of the Council and of the United Nations for a considerable time to come. The next weeks will be an especially critical phase on the path to a stable, sustainable situation in Kosovo. The international civil presence will be a large and complex operation for which it is essential that coordination and cooperation among the various international and regional organizations and actors be ensured. The EU is looking forward to the appointment by the Secretary-General of the Special Representative foreseen in the resolution adopted today by the Council. Enormous challenges, such as the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, preparing them for the next winter and assistance in rebuilding the basics of a functioning economy, still lie ahead of us. The EU would like to express its support for the work of Carl Bildt and Eduard Kukan, the Special Envoys of the Secretary-General for the Balkans, and for that of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and all other United Nations agencies. If we are to meet the challenges before us, the solidarity and the financial commitment of the entire international community will be essential. This also highlights the need for all Member States to contribute to putting the United Nations on a solid financial basis.

The European Union reiterates its commitment to take a leading role in the reconstruction of Kosovo, and calls upon other donors to participate generously in the reconstruction effort. With a view to enhancing peace, stability and prosperity in, and cooperation among, countries in the region, the European Union has taken the initiative to establish a Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe. Today, a conference was held at Cologne, at which the Stability Pact was adopted, thereby establishing a comprehensive mechanism for long-term political stabilization and the economic reconstruction and development of the region. The strong endorsement this initiative has already found encourages us to believe that there is a shared understanding among the members of the international community of the medium-term and longer-term tasks that lie ahead.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): We are pleased to see that the Security Council has adopted resolution 1244 (1999). This resolution is aimed primarily at enabling refugees and displaced persons to return home safely and, with international support, to engage in the reconstruction of their destroyed home towns and villages. As one of the countries which have participated in the efforts to make this resolution a reality, we share a sense of attainment with other Member States concerned and with the organizations involved.

But we all know that the real test is yet to come. We must ensure the full and faithful cooperation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in order to realize the general principles and other required elements that it has accepted. It is also important to ensure compliance by the Kosovo Liberation Army and other armed Kosovo Albanian groups with the requirements for demilitarization. We must gather together in giving support to the activities of the international civil and security presences. We must cooperate to give the best assistance and encouragement to those who have suffered as a result of this crisis. And we must also make our utmost efforts to alleviate the neighbouring countries' difficulties caused by this crisis.

I want to point out that among many other tasks before us, the return of refugees and displaced persons and the reconstruction of their destroyed towns and villages are crucially important to the future of Kosovo. Most important, these two tasks are linked to each other and must be implemented in close coordination. The return of refugees and displaced persons is a matter of particular urgency. With the onset of winter in a few months, the international community must be ready to assist not only refugees who are returning but also those who are compelled to remain in the camps in neighbouring countries. In this context, we appreciate the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, to prepare for that eventuality. The international community must assist the work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which will act as a lead agency in addressing this enormous humanitarian problem. With this in mind, Japan calls for the convening of an international donors' conference for assistance to Kosovo as soon as possible.

For its part, Japan has already announced a package of assistance in the amount of approximately $200 million in response to the Kosovo crisis. This package includes Japan's pledged contribution of approximately $100 million to a United Nations Human Security Fund, initiated by the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Keizo Obuchi, and other funds to be used primarily for the return of refugees and the rehabilitation of Kosovo. Another $100 million is extended to neighbouring countries for refugee relief and assistance. Furthermore, as the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Masahiko Komura, has already announced, Japan is ready to consider further assistance as the situation develops.

The tasks set forth by this resolution for the United Nations and other international organizations are enormous in scope and complexity. The leadership and expertise of the United Nations will be especially valuable in providing an interim civil administration for Kosovo. Therefore, we have to renew our own commitment to support the United Nations and other international organizations in the undertakings in which they will be engaged. I want to assure the Council that, for its part, Japan is committed to participate actively in efforts to that end.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): I would like to express the great satisfaction of the Norwegian Government that the Council has now adopted a resolution on a peaceful solution to the Kosovo conflict. We have reached this crucial moment thanks to the international unity that has been demonstrated. We have seen that military action by the North Atlantic alliance was necessary to accompany

political efforts. The international community must now devote political and financial resources to end the humanitarian tragedy that has been unfolding in Kosovo and in the neighbouring States. The authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia bear full responsibility for this tragic course of events. We must not forget the causes of the conflict, and we must maintain our unity in seeking a long-term solution for a peaceful, democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo.

As a political solution to the Kosovo crisis is now within reach, the international community must substantially intensify the planning and preparation for implementing a peace agreement. The challenges are enormous and require a solid financial commitment by the whole international community. My country stands ready to keep its commitment, both through financial means and with personnel. We will contribute troops to the deployment of the international security force and we will continue to channel substantial financial resources to meet humanitarian needs, for demining operations and for the rehabilitation of war-torn infrastructure inside Kosovo.

As Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Norwegian Foreign Minister welcomes the decision to place the overall responsibility for the civilian presence with the United Nations. It is obvious that this will be an expensive operation that is likely to further stretch the already limited means of the United Nations system. The civilian implementation of the peace agreement will have to be divided between several international organizations. The OSCE is ready to do its share.

Clear lines of command and clearly defined areas of responsibility, as well as close coordination and cooperation among the various organizations, will be necessary. Careful consideration must also be given to ensuring that this division of responsibilities is logical and promotes efficient implementation. Learning from our experience in Bosnia, we should avoid duplication and division of closely related tasks between several organizations.

The primary responsibility for rebuilding democratic institutions and civil society should lie with the OSCE. The organization has considerable experience and expertise with regard to these tasks. The areas logically falling within this field — such as the initial institution-building, including the establishment of a functioning and independent judiciary; democratization; rule of law; human rights issues; promotion of free and independent media; and, finally, preparation for and supervision of elections — are all closely interlinked. Primary responsibility for implementation of these tasks should remain with one single structure, with clear lines of command. They are all among the core functions of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Hence, the OSCE is well suited to take on a substantial and primary responsibility for implementing this part of a political settlement, through the establishment of a new mission to Kosovo. To prepare for this, the OSCE has developed comprehensive plans covering all the above-mentioned areas. The planning also includes the establishment of an international police force. If this responsibility is assumed by the United Nations, the OSCE is prepared to share its plans with the United Nations.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Niehaus (Costa Rica) *(spoke in Spanish)*: Costa Rica very much welcomes the agreement reached to resolve the conflict in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In this context, we congratulate the members of the Security Council for the resolution they have just adopted. We trust that these agreements and the resolution that has been adopted will bring to an end the atrocities perpetrated against the ethnic Albanian Kosovar population, as well as the loss of human life and the destruction of the infrastructure of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Since the onset of the conflict, our principled position of commitment to respect for the human rights of innocent peoples led us to condemn resolutely the attacks perpetrated against the Albanian civilian population in Kosovo, the violation of their most basic rights and the savage destruction of defenceless villages and hamlets. We therefore continue to express our repudiation of the policy of ethnic cleansing pursued by the authorities of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and we express our support for a firm position by the international community with regard to the Belgrade Government. Nevertheless, we are equally concerned by the use of force by the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) without any explicit authorization by the Security Council, and we urge NATO to halt the bombing and resume negotiations.

In our view, there is only one party to be blamed for the conflict: the Belgrade Government, with it genocidal policies and its intransigence on limiting the autonomy of a people accustomed to autonomy. However, we cannot ignore the fact that today there are two victims: the ethnic Albanian Kosovar population, which has been subjected to atrocities and displaced, and the innocent population of Yugoslavia, which has been terrorized by the bombing and whose economic and social circumstances have sunk to one of the lowest levels in the world.

War is comfortable for leaders protected in presidential palaces and for taxpayers who follow it on television. It does not hurt, burn or sting; above all, it does not kill. Yet this point of view is deeply flawed. It is not the politicians who allow themselves to be carried away by extremist ideologies and polls or the terrorists who endeavour to protect drug-trafficking and smuggling under the pretext of self-determination who suffer the consequences of armed conflicts. The true victims of wars are children and elderly persons who are displaced or made refugees, women who are raped, young people who are murdered, mothers who lose their economic livelihoods, innocent workers whose workplaces are destroyed, students whose schools are bombed and sick people who cannot go to hospitals because there are neither bridges nor medicines. War is never just. War is never humane.

Costa Rica welcomes the agreements and the resolution that has been adopted, for we acknowledge that they will be the essential tool for guaranteeing the peace process in Kosovo and for preventing more violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in the region. We acknowledge that it is necessary and vital to authorize the establishment of a civil and security presence in Kosovo and for a demand to be made anew for the withdrawal of the troops of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These conditions are not only a political imperative for they international community, they are also an ethical and a moral imperative.

Costa Rica has expressed its concerns about how the operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been conducted. As I stated on 24 October 1998, in voting as an elected member of the Security Council in favour of resolution 1203 (1998), on the situation in Kosovo, Costa Rica considers that the adoption of any measure involving the use of force or military troops should satisfy all the legal, political and strategic requirements called for by the Charter and by practical experience. With the very limited exception of the right to legitimate defence, any option involving the use of force requires the clear authorization of the Security Council in each specific case. We believe this principle to be implicit in the Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as in the absolute prohibition against the use of force in international relations. Moreover, the Security Council cannot and should not shift, abandon or renounce its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

In this context, we are gratified and filled with hope at the fact that the situation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is again under consideration at the United Nations, and particularly in the Security Council.

We fear that any erosion of the exclusive prerogatives of the Security Council may result in a weakening of the structure of the international community and an increase in situations in which force is resorted to as a means of settling disputes. In this context, all States, and in particular the members of the Security Council, are obliged to ensure full respect for the machinery established by the Charter and the balance of principles included therein: respect for fundamental rights, non-intervention, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the territorial integrity of States.

Furthermore, we note with satisfaction the commitments included in the resolution and in the agreements with regard to assistance for the reconstruction and development of the area affected by the conflict. Costa Rica believes that economic development is indispensable for guaranteeing domestic peace and the human development of all countries, and in this particular case, it is indispensable for the maintenance of international peace and security. We hope that the adoption of these measures will set a precedent and will also be applied to other areas, such as the Great Lakes region and West Africa, which need urgent assistance for development and reconstruction if they are to free themselves from the cycle of violence and destruction.

Finally, I should once again like to express Costa Rica's satisfaction that agreements have been concluded that will permit a ceasefire in the armed conflict in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that will ultimately lead the Balkans to a lasting peace and bring about respect for human rights for all its inhabitants in freedom, security and justice.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belarus. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sychov (Belarus) (*spoke in Russian*): Today's meeting of the Security Council is of enormous importance to the Members of the United Nations. In this Chamber, we are witnessing how the United Nations, this universal forum of the world community, resolves matters relating to the peaceful settlement of this very complex conflict, the consequences of which were, until very recently, unforeseeable.

It is important that the text of the resolution adopted contains a reference to the principles set forth in the statement made by the President of the Republic of Belarus and in the statements made by the delegation of Belarus in previous meetings of the Security Council on this matter. The Republic of Belarus strongly condemns the illegal military actions by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against a sovereign State, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which were undertaken in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the universally recognized norms of international law. From the very beginning of the active resistance in Kosovo, we advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict under the auspices of the United Nations and a halt to the aggression by NATO against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, recognizing the main responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The most important lesson to be learned from the events relating to Kosovo is self-evident. A humanitarian crisis cannot be resolved by the unilateral application of force. The intensive international efforts have shown quite clearly that it is possible to settle virtually any conflict, even the most complex, by using the whole range of peaceful means provided for in the Charter and in other international instruments. The experience of the negotiations showed what was most important. Only full and unwavering compliance with such universally accepted norms of international law can guarantee a stable future for the human race as it moves into the twenty-first century.

The Republic of Belarus is also pleased to note that bringing the negotiating process on Kosovo back under the auspices of the United Nations was made possible through the efforts made by the major Powers, together with the high-ranking officials of the United Nations and other international organizations. These provided the basis for the establishment of the political principles and the peace plan agreed to by the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia leading to the end of military action and the return of refugees and misplaced persons. However, the adoption of the resolution today in the Security Council should not become a reason to celebrate too much or to relax. We can see that ahead of us lies the multifaceted and very complex task of implementing the military and civilian elements of the resolution and the related agreements on the settlement, including the demilitarization of the Kosovo Liberation Army and implementation by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of its obligations. We believe that all future work in this area will require just as much effort and as many resources as the efforts that were required to reach the agreements.

Peace in Kosovo must be fully restored. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must receive every guarantee of its territorial integrity and sovereignty and the assistance needed for the economic and social re-establishment of the country. The Republic of Belarus believes that the international community, headed by the United Nations, will respond appropriately to all the challenges relating to the political settlement of this crisis and will be able to carry out successfully its lofty mission of restoring peace and stability to the Balkans. For our part, we are resolved to do our utmost to ensure the success of that work.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council has arrived late. The resolution it has just adopted will not change the facts. This has been an invasion by the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and it will continue to be considered as such when the real history is written. The damage done by the disregard of the United Nations and the disdain for the Security Council is irreparable. The aggressors will never be impartial, and they will never restore the principles that they have trampled underfoot. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which are being solemnly and hypocritically proclaimed, are absolutely unworkable under the conditions that have been imposed, and such a proclamation cannot conceal the disintegration by force of a sovereign State.

Seven days have passed since the acceptance by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian Parliament of the peace proposal conveyed by

the special high-level envoys. During that time, there were 3,684 NATO flights and 996 strikes against a long list of targets, including civilian ones. Since Serbia accepted the proposal, innocent people have continued to die or to be wounded and the deliberate destruction of the country has continued. During that week, after NATO added further requirements to the already Draconian proposal conveyed by the envoys, it became even more obvious that the United States and NATO were not seeking a political solution, but that rather they wished to consolidate a new mechanism of world power, destroy Serbia, liquidate its Government and humiliate its people. It has been confirmed that it is not possible to negotiate while bombs are falling.

There can no longer be any doubt — if ever there was any — about the true objectives of this disproportionate aggression. For 79 days a huge military, economic and technological force attacked a small developing country with impunity, carrying out 35,788 combat and support missions. The combined gross national product of the aggressors is 1,163 times that of the victim, their population 77 times larger, their territory 226 times bigger, their troops 43 times more numerous. The Serb people's resistance has been heroic, but at what a cost: thousands of innocent civilians killed or wounded, terrible deprivation, a country in ruins, children traumatized for life by the bombing. The aggressors deserve no laurels.

The Security Council's silence cannot erase the images of the bombings: the passenger train at Grdelica gorge, the convoy of Albanian refugees at Djakovica-Pec, civilian buildings in Belgrade and Novi Sad, the peoples of Paracin, Kralijevo and Sremska Mitrovica, the main Serbian television facility, the bus at Luzane, the residential area in Surdulica, the factory in Lucani, electric generators, water supply distribution networks, the hospital at Valjevo, the Greek convoy near Vlac, the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, the market and hospital complex at Nis, the Kosovar Albanian town of Korisa, 18 diplomatic offices, Istok prison, and dozens of bridges, railroads and highways.

This was genocide. There is no other way to describe the systematic process of depriving millions of people of their means of subsistence, of heat, drinking water and medical services; the deliberate and daily attacks on non-military targets that were known to shelter civilians; the use of internationally prohibited weapons such as uranium-covered bombs and cluster bombs; and the indiscriminate use of seismic bombs in urban areas and of graphite bombs against electrical networks, which paralysed all essential services. Those acts violate the Geneva Conventions, international humanitarian law and the laws and customs of war. The responsible parties should be punished severely. Furthermore, the consequences of the war on the environment have been truly unfathomable.

NATO politicians, smiling all the while, have lied to their own citizens in speeches replete with excuses that do not stand up to scrutiny.

Under the pretext of wishing to prevent a mass exodus of refugees, they have managed to create a real humanitarian catastrophe — one that could easily have been foreseen. Indeed, 860,000 refugees have left the country since the inception of the bombing. The main aggressor countries have taken in 30,703 refugees, 3.6 per cent of the total created by the bombing. The United States and the United Kingdom have taken in only 0.9 per cent. Two-thirds of the Bosnian refugees who were to return this year have as yet not done so, and this issue is not being dealt with.

They supposedly wished to champion the human rights of the Albanian Kosovars and prevent "ethnic cleansing". But those who carried out the bombing have too many sins, old and new, to their credit for their sincerity not to be in doubt. Furthermore, they are morally compromised by their longstanding reliance on double standards.

The United States and some of its allies supported, and did not comply with international sanctions on, the apartheid regime; they tolerated the atrocities in Cambodia and in Central America; and they cooperated with the fascist military regimes in Latin America. They stood silently on the sidelines as crimes were perpetrated against the Arab peoples — crimes that are now being flagrantly committed against the Palestinians. Three hundred Muslims, half of them children under 5, die every day in Iraq as a result of the sanctions and acts of aggression. And, unperturbed, they are making no effort to resolve the conflicts in Africa, where a real humanitarian emergency has put 11 million refugees in jeopardy.

The United States continues to segregate its own indigenous peoples, whom it tried to exterminate in keeping with its tradition of "ethnic cleansing". Today it continues brutally to persecute immigrants, as can be seen in the heinous Louima and Diallo cases, and it treats people differently on the basis of ethnicity in its society, justice system, penal system and in the use of capital

punishment. How can it preach about human rights with dirty wars, extra-territorial laws and genocidal blockades to its credit?

It is noteworthy that NATO has done nothing about, nor has it even spoken of, the harrowing exodus of countless Serbs — including 500,000 from Krajina alone, according to the United Nations — that led to the premeditated disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, promoted by a part of Europe and supported unanimously by the West.

In 1941 the fascist Government of Ante Pavelic, established in Zagreb by Hitler to rule over Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and part of Vojvodina up to Belgrade itself, came up with the famous "three-thirds" doctrine: one third of the Serbs were to be expelled, one third assimilated and forcibly converted to the official religion, and one third physically eliminated. Many of the converts were ultimately eliminated, and because deportation was quite difficult, extermination became the preferred policy. A total of 675,000 Serb civilians of all ages and both genders were murdered in cold blood by Pavelic's *Ustachas*, according to British Admiralty archives. That holocaust occurred just seven years before the creation of NATO. Is Europe not ashamed of NATO's dropping thousands of terribly destructive bombs on the Serbian people?

This genocidal war, rather than contributing to harmony, has fanned the flames of hatred and exacerbated ethnic and sectarian conflicts in Kosovo and in the Balkans. Indeed, it is curious that NATO's newfound "humanism" does not extend to its pocketbook. These leaders of the wealthiest aggressor powers have admitted shamelessly that they will not spend any money to rebuild Serbia until it embraces democracy. The meaning of this is clear. Apparently the goals of "phase IV" of the operation are less noble.

Nor are there any concrete commitments with respect to the damage that has been inflicted, which is estimated at more than $100 billion. Reconstruction is the moral duty of the international community and should be a legal obligation on the part of the aggressors.

Cuba would like to emphasize its readiness to participate, to the extent of its modest ability, in any project aimed at rebuilding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and at providing humanitarian assistance to the Kosovar Albanians. It reiterates the offer it made on 5 April, 12 days after the attacks began, to cooperate by sending gratis 1,000 doctors to care for the refugees in the camps and to help in their repatriation, and to assist the inhabitants of Kosovo and of the rest of Serbia and Montenegro wherever necessary.

Safeguarding stability in Europe was also cited as an objective of the war. However, it is clear that instability in the region has intensified. The occupation of Kosovo cannot go on forever, nor can the rule of the invaders offer any guarantees. Neighbouring countries will pay for what has happened, leading to a high risk of new conflicts or to the intensification of latent ones.

In strongly condemning the crimes perpetrated against the Serbian people, the Cuban Government also supports the right of the Kosovar Albanians to their national, cultural and religious identity and to the broadest possible autonomy, including independence, if — once a just and lasting peace is achieved that is not imposed upon Serbia by means of a terrible war of aggression — that decision is made peacefully and democratically by Kosovars of all ethnicities and the Serbian Republic.

Taking the path of peace entails guaranteeing full equality of rights and security to all national groups and healing the hatreds exacerbated by aggression. A concrete programme of reconstruction, peace, security and stability in the region will be necessary. It is our sincere hope that the neighbouring countries will wisely, tolerantly and altruistically develop their ability to avoid new conflicts on the basis of respect for the rights of all national groups.

Paradoxically, Europe has also been a victim. Although the objective was to consolidate and establish the offensive capability of NATO against the rest of the world, in reality what has been consolidated and established, in a humiliating and injurious manner for European sovereignty, has been the hegemony of the United States over ancient and cultured Europe.

It has obviously been treated as a lesser member. The United States makes the decisions, establishes the strategy, exercises authority, has the necessary military means and tests its new and criminal technology on the European space. The United States provided 74 per cent of the fighter planes and 97 per cent of the supply planes. Ninety per cent of the bombs were laser-guided; all were American. It used thousands of cruise missiles. It launched its B-2s for the first time and spent billions of dollars financing almost the entire operation. It was an

American war, although some allies dispute the merits or intentions of such impossible leadership arrangements.

However, it will be Europe that will pay the consequences of the conflict, that will have to deal with the humanitarian problems caused by the bombing, that will probably have to provide the resources for reconstruction and that will suffer most from the conditions of great instability generated in the Balkan countries. The currency of a united Europe, politically independent, economically powerful and cultured, has suffered great harm. The euro is already paying in the stock market for these errors. Europe will have to reconsider its objectives now that its subordination has been confirmed. The damage has been shown by the Bremen conference and now the European Union Summit, which agreed to the creation of a European defence identity and capability.

On the other hand, the new strategic concept and the NATO initiative on defensive capabilities enshrine its right to military intervention at the planetary level. In Kosovo the doctrine was implemented before it was even born.

NATO, whose sole value was its defensive nature and whose sole virtue had been inactivity, now declares itself and behaves like a world policeman. Without a cold war or real enemy, it transforms itself into an offensive alliance. It announces that it will act outside the borders of its members, that it will attack without being attacked when it considers its interests to be at risk and that it will act outside of the United Nations when the Organization is non-compliant.

It promises us that with gunfire it will confront global threats such as terrorism, drug-trafficking, the existence of weapons of mass destruction and the violations of human rights. Curiously, it has not mentioned hunger or AIDS. It will reserve for itself the right to decide what is a threat and where and when that threat should become a target for its missiles. It propagates the concept of diplomacy by force.

The new NATO humanism is simply the right to humanitarian intervention, which no one has defined and the United Nations has not agreed on. We, the developing countries, will have to look to Kosovo as the place where we have been made collectively weaker in the face of hegemony and the military threat of the Powers. In the Balkans the frivolous rhetoric regarding the opportunities of globalization, the myth of the new financial architecture and the illusion of United Nations reform have been unmasked. The risks and challenges are clearer today. Nobody will give us anything. It is not a great comfort that our creditors, crew members of the same boat, will drown with us. Together, we, the developing countries, must forge for ourselves our common future in a globalized world.

The Alliance is owner of the planes and also of the newspapers. The spectacle of war is another consumer product. The market of war and the market of information have found common interests and great earnings in Kosovo. The NATO war has filled the coffers of producers of smart weapons and stupid television programmes. The epidemic violence of the societies that have bombed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be separated from this war. Children shoot in the schools of the United States, following the same basic logic that their parents have followed in Serbia.

We are now witnessing the manipulation of the United Nations and the Security Council. Following 79 days of disregard and contempt, today they are being used to try to give a veneer of legality to the aggression. The Charter was ignored and now it is invoked, although in reality it has been replaced by NATO's new strategic concept. The collective security mechanism has been replaced, to the benefit of the powerful, by the law of the jungle. The International Court of Justice did not declare the bombing illegal and it abandoned international law. It is neither new nor extraordinary for the Commission on Human Rights to be manipulated, but it is serious that that Commission has not stated that the aerial campaign is a massive, flagrant, delirious and systematic violation of human rights.

It is the developing world that suffers most from unipolarism and is most at risk with the weakening of the United Nations. The only one that benefits is the United States. The only alternative is to fight against these imperial practices, defend the United Nations, restore respect for and implementation of the Charter, preserve the principles of non-intervention, non-aggression, non-use of force or threats of force and respect for sovereignty.

The fact that NATO has had to come today before the Security Council demonstrates that this battle is still possible and that if we, the developing countries, use our force, which is considerable when we unite, we can save the United Nations.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): The delegation of Ukraine welcomes today's meeting of the Security Council, which, at long last, found itself in a position to adopt a politically comprehensive resolution on Kosovo and, by doing so, to restore its special responsibilities under the United Nations Charter for maintaining international peace and security.

Ukraine highly commends the outstanding mediatory efforts by the representatives of the international community, namely, the President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, the Special Representative of the Russian Federation, Victor Chernomyrdin, and the United States Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott, which resulted in achieving a real breakthrough in the settlement of the crisis. My Government also pays tribute to the United Nations Secretary-General for the constructive role he has played to this end.

Now we are even more certain than before that the threatening development of the situation in and around Kosovo could have been avoided if the Security Council had been prepared to exercise its powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter at a very early stage of the conflict.

We believe that the Council resolution adopted earlier today is of paramount importance to the eventual solution of the Kosovo crisis. As noted in the statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine just one hour ago in connection with today's historic action of the Security Council, with the adoption of resolution 1244 (1999) there is now every reason to believe that a definitive peace will return to the Balkans. Resolution 1244 (1999), *inter alia*, reconfirms the basic principles of international law, such as respect for human rights, in particular the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in safety, as well as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Moreover, the resolution authorizes the deployment in Kosovo, under United Nations auspices, of international civil and security presences on the basis of the agreement of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Such a deployment is to be synchronized with the phased withdrawals from Kosovo of the Yugoslav forces. At the same time, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to control the civil presence and to coordinate its activities with the security presence.

I have specifically referred to those provisions of the resolution because they are largely in consonance with the Ukrainian peace plan submitted to the Yugoslav leadership and to the Contact Group States on the third day of air strikes against Yugoslavia. Taking into account the significance of today's resolution of the Security Council and the fact that it reflects the essence of Ukraine's peace initiatives, my country joined its cosponsors.

Since the Security Council has decided to move rapidly and resolutely towards the final settlement of the Kosovo crisis, the international community should extend its broad support to it in order to ensure that the measures mandated today by the Council are properly implemented. In this regard, Ukraine, which has made continuous efforts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the Kosovo crisis by political means from the very first hours of its inception, stands ready to cooperate in the implementation of the adopted resolution.

My country reaffirms its readiness to contribute military units to the international force in Kosovo mandated by the Security Council, as well as its civilian police officers to the United Nations CIVPOL operation. At present, consideration of specific forms of our country's military participation is under way.

It is self-evident that the final settlement of the Kosovo crisis will be incomplete without the implementation of a package of solid post-conflict peace-building measures, among which top priority should be given to the economic reconstruction of the region of south-eastern Europe. However, we should pay more attention to the problem of economic losses suffered by other countries as a result of the military actions.

It is a common fact that there are a number of countries, in particular those of the Danube region, which are now experiencing huge economic losses caused by the interruption of transport communications, the reorientation of commodity flows, the loss of traditional markets and so on. In fact, their right to free and unimpeded use of that important international watercourse has been disrupted. In this context, I would like to recall the Declaration of the Danube Commission regarding the severe consequences of the military actions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the Danube riparian countries, which is contained in the respective resolution adopted by the fifty-seventh session of the Danube Commission on 22 April 1999. We expect the Security Council to address in a positive and action-oriented

way — sooner rather than later — the problem of the economic losses of third countries suffered as a result of military activities in Kosovo.

Ukraine intends to get involved in the process of the economic reconstruction of Yugoslavia and the stabilization of the countries of the region, in particular within the framework of a Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe.

Finally, let me refer to some comments made several days ago by the President of Ukraine regarding the acceptance by the Yugoslav leadership of the Kosovo peace plan. In particular, the President of Ukraine said that the Kosovo crisis should become a bitter lesson to all of us from which the entire international community must draw the appropriate conclusions. Among the conclusions mentioned by the President of Ukraine was the following:

> "Unless respect for human rights and the rights of national minorities and the observance of international law as a whole are ensured, conflicts and humanitarian crises will again threaten the world in the future."

I think this conclusion will remain very pertinent for a long time to come.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Croatia. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Grčić Polić (Croatia): Croatia assigns particular importance to peace and security throughout Europe. Within the framework of the previous Security Council debates and deliberations on Kosovo, Croatia has called for the active and energetic involvement of the international community in the prevention of a humanitarian catastrophe and in the plight of the civilian population. Much innocent blood has been spilled; many families have been broken up and left homeless; many children have lost their schools and been deprived of their very childhood.

Croatia sincerely hopes that this important resolution will mark the end of the circle of destruction which began almost a decade ago, when the Greater Serbian expansionist policy initiated wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This policy — now hopefully both defeated and defunct — resulted in the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a founding Member of the United Nations, and its replacement by five equal successor States, none of which automatically continues the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's international legal personality and status in the United Nations. The Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe that was adopted earlier today in Cologne refers to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as one of the successor States to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We are heartened today by the apparent consensus of the international community, the Belgrade authorities and the Albanians in Kosovo to bring an end to the spiral of violence. Like preceding speakers, I should like to express our support and praise for all those efforts which have led to the political framework contained in the resolution before us. Croatia believes that the full implementation of the resolution's provisions is critical to giving the political process a chance to mature within an environment of restored security and civility. Croatia stands ready to share its extensive experience and contribute to the success of the forthcoming efforts of the international community in the implementation of this resolution.

As a neighbouring country of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, throughout the crisis in Kosovo Croatia has played a constructive, as well as supportive role to the efforts of the international community. In doing so, we have been motivated by the desire to see the conflict come to an end as soon as possible and to strengthen stability in the region. It is in this spirit that the efforts of our President to achieve a peaceful resolution were undertaken.

Croatia actively contributed to the efforts of the international community in Kosovo, including by the dispatch of humanitarian aid for Kosovo refugees and by providing support for the military and civilian activities of the international community in the area. Croatia's role as a factor of stability in the region has been proven and dedicatedly exercised. While supporting the actions of the international community in Kosovo, we have persisted in maintaining the pace of the normalization of relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its peoples. Make no mistake, this was no easy task. Our diplomatic and consular offices in Belgrade, Subotica and Kotor remained open for those refugees applying to return to Croatia, their homeland. This return process is continuing.

I should like to join others in condemning the violations of human rights and the grave breaches of humanitarian law committed in Kosovo, as well as to denounce all acts and all forms of terrorism, regardless

of whether they are sponsored by individuals, groups or States. Those who have committed such acts must be held accountable. Croatia categorically supports the universal right of the Kosovo Albanian population and of all the other people living in Kosovo to be allowed to return to their places of origin and to live in safety and dignity.

Peace breeds in, and on, economic prosperity. Hence, we ought not underestimate the challenges that lie ahead regarding lessening and eventually overcoming economic hardship, not only in Kosovo and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but also throughout the region. As a neighbouring State, Croatia has so far suffered $2.5 billion in direct economic losses, and an estimated $5 billion in overall economic losses due to the conflict in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The international community should strengthen its approach towards fostering the overall security, political and economic stability and prosperity of the entire region, thus widening the road, for those who seek it, towards reintegration into Euro-Atlantic structures. The Republic of Croatia has all along advocated such an approach. It is in line with this approach that we have actively embraced the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe.

Croatia has long and extensive experience with United Nations peacekeeping operations on its soil. We welcomed and embraced help from the United Nations to restore peace, inter-ethnic confidence, stability and the Government's authority in war-torn parts of our territory. No two conflicts, and hence no two peacekeeping operations, are alike. Thus, although very different in scope and mandate, the United Nations operation in Eastern Slavonia, which came to a successful end, can still serve as an example of a skilfully planned operation, equally well implemented through good cooperation between the United Nations and the host country. Croatia can only hope that the international community, as well as Kosovo and the rest of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, can draw upon the lessons learned from this example.

I should like to respond to a gross misrepresentation of facts just presented by the representative of Cuba. To set the record straight, it was not 500,000 Serbs who left Croatia in 1995. The exodus that took place from the Croatian region of Krajina in 1995 included, according to data of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, about 90,000 civilians and 30,000 armed rebels. That exodus was ordered by the rebel leader Milan Martić, who was later accused of shelling the capital city of Zagreb and was thus indicted as a war criminal. He still remains at large.

I regret that the representative of Cuba expressed his indignation only at atrocities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I believe that his indignation would have carried some weight if his country had reacted similarly at the time when cities throughout Croatia, including my home town of Dubrovnik, were barbarically shelled; the same goes also for Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Horváth (Hungary): Hungary associates itself with the statement made by the representative of Germany on behalf of the European Union. As a country bordering on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and having countless ties with it and its peoples — including with the sizeable Hungarian minority living there — and, consequently, having felt very keenly the effects of the conflict in its proximity, Hungary also wishes in addition to say how much it welcomes the Council's adoption of resolution 1244 (1999) today, which is a further step towards a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Kosovo.

Hungary believes that the United Nations has an indispensable role to play in this process. It hopes that the lessons learned from this tragic experience, just as from that of Bosnia, will ultimately help prevent similar conflicts or, once they explode, will make it possible to treat them in a timely and adequate manner.

One of the major yardsticks by which the international community will measure the success of the huge operation that is about to begin is the return of the refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo. An effective international security and civil presence is a *sine qua non* condition to help reach that objective. Hungary has been vocal in its firm opposition to the aggressive nationalism, ethnocentrism and religious and ethnic intolerance which have led to so much suffering for all the peoples inhabiting former Yugoslavia. One feels devastated at the spectacle of human misery, material destruction and, last but not least, psychological trauma that these wars and conflicts have caused. To allow the systematic emptying of vast lands and these well-organized campaigns of intimidation and atrocities to stand would have been a shameful betrayal of the ideal of a civilized world at the turn of the century. It would have been to acquiesce in the use of brutal force in pursuit of sinister political objectives. For us in the region, it would

have sent a cancerous message attractive to emulate for some and fraught with unforeseeable consequences for the rest of us. In the end, military action had to be used in order to stop this series of infernal events.

Hungary is vitally interested in seeing peace reestablished and in seeing the democratic values of Europe prevail in the region. It is of paramount importance to proceed expeditiously with the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive approach to the stabilization and development of the whole region affected by this crisis. Hungary wishes to play an active part in translating this endeavour into action, just as it intends to play its role in the implementation of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe initiated by the European Union. These undertakings represent an overall political strategy aimed at the resolution of present and potential problems threatening the South-eastern corner of Europe. It is in this framework and with these purposes in mind that Hungary expresses its strong desire to live side by side with a democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at peace with its ethnic communities, respectful of all human rights, including the rights of national minorities, and thus ready to rejoin the community of nations.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nejad Hosseinian (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June.

We are happy to note that the international community is moving towards the right track for resolving the crisis in Kosovo and for beginning the long process of ending the tragedy that so many innocent people are facing. We are also delighted to see that the Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is now in a position to carry out its responsibilities under the United Nations Charter. While the former is cause for international optimism — optimism about beginning a process of reconciliation, ending violence and reversing a policy of ethnic cleansing — the latter is cause for happiness — happiness over the vindication of the rule of international law and for the reliance on the role and authority of the United Nations in conflict resolution.

In the past, but particularly over the last few months, acts of violence against the Kosovo population and the consequent humanitarian tragedy in and around Kosovo have shocked the human conscience and recorded in the history of the Balkans yet another dark page of man's brutality and savagery against his fellow human being. The plight of the refugees and internally displaced persons was and continues to be a matter of grave concern for the international community and for the Islamic countries, including the people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This concern continues to be omnipresent because we realize that the process of the return of the refugees and displaced persons, their reintegration and rehabilitation and, more importantly, the process of reconciliation and return of normalcy in Kosovo is arduous, long and rocky. We are nevertheless optimistic, for to remain human we cannot and should not lose hope in the supremacy of collective human wisdom and peaceful coexistence over short-sighted bigotry and divisiveness.

In this context, we welcome and fully support the resolution just adopted as a means to end violence, stabilize the situation and help ensure conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo. The Islamic Republic of Iran looks forward to consulting with the Secretary-General and his yet-to-be-named representative in order to consider how it may be able to cooperate with them along the lines of the tasks assigned to the Secretary-General by this resolution.

In view of the outrage and the growing concern in the Islamic countries over the crisis in Kosovo and its consequences, the Organization of the Islamic Conference's Contact Group on Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo has taken a number of initiatives since the onset of the crisis to help contain it and to promote a political and negotiated solution to the conflict. As I indicated before, we in the Islamic Republic of Iran are pleased that the unsanctioned use of force and the violence and brutality of the Serbs against the Kosovar population are to end.

The international efforts currently under way, and particularly the resolution just adopted, are designed to put an immediate end to violence in Kosovo, to ensure the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo and to recognize all legitimate rights of the Kosovar Albanians, including the right to establish substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo. In our judgement, the achievement of these main objectives, particularly the question of whether or not all refugees and displaced persons will be able to return to their

homes in safety and dignity, will serve as the ultimate test in history to judge the whole 11-week-old enterprise.

The President: I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Albania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nesho (Albania): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on the fact that during your presidency the Security Council has taken a decision on the very important resolution on the peace plan in Kosovo, which will be an indispensable step towards peace and stability in the Balkans.

Albania highly appreciates the irreplaceable role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which stopped one of the greatest human catastrophes in Europe after the Second World War and which brought to a halt the genocide and the ethnic cleansing carried out against millions of innocent Albanian civilians in the heart of Europe, thereby protecting the best values of our world civilization.

The Albanian nation is grateful to the great leaders of international community, to President William Jefferson Clinton of the United States of America, to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and to President Jacques Chirac of France, as well as to the leaders of the G-8 and NATO, for their historic decision today to stop crimes against humanity and to protect human values. In this way they are defending the principles of the United Nations Charter and preventing the spillover of the conflict into Europe.

The Security Council has discussed this issue several times since the beginning of the crisis in Kosovo and it has adopted a number of important resolutions. To this day, those resolutions have not been respected by the Belgrade regime, which for more than 10 years has consistently pursued its criminal policy towards the Albanians and started consecutive wars against Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and, now, again against the Albanians of Kosovo.

We believe that today's resolution has some important elements that will guarantee powerful support from the international community. This resolution enjoys the consensus of the G-8 and expresses the stance of the international community; it was adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations; it expresses a clear stance against the perpetrators of monstrous crimes in Kosovo by applying the principle that there is no peace without justice; and it also supports the important role of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and its historic mission as an important means of confidence-building for the deportees and a way of reconfirming the leading role of the United Nations.

We are convinced that the implementation of peace in Kosovo will have no tangible results and that it will be fragile if war criminals such as Milosevic do not go to trial and if another Nuremberg trial is not organized against the criminals of the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo.

The military presence with NATO forces at its core, and the implementation of a civilian force under the leadership of the United Nations constitute indispensable measures for the quick return of the Albanian deportees to their lands and homes. Their return will be a long process in which they will have to face innumerable problems as a result of returning to a scorched land. Their return will be psychologically difficult because their lands are full of mass graves and because their factories and workplaces have been converted into concentration camps and rape camps. They will return to a land without knowing who has survived Milosevic's genocide.

We believe that the Albanians will overcome this tragic situation because they love peace, not war, and, as they have already shown by cooperating with the international community and by signing the Rambouillet agreement, they are ready to commit themselves to future cooperation for building their lives in freedom.

The mission of peace initiated by this Security Council resolution will achieve success when it takes into consideration two essential conditions set out by the international community. First, there must be substantial economic assistance for reconstructing Kosovo and its economy, infrastructure and self-governing institutions, in order to restore confidence to the lives of the people of Kosovo and to ensure the integration of Kosovo, together with other countries of the region, into Europe.

Secondly, any long-term solution to the Kosovo problem must take into consideration and must respect the will of the people of Kosovo to decide their own future. The international protection and the presence of the United Nations in the region will help them

understand that the future of that entire people is not more dictatorship and crime but freedom and democracy, and the achievement of free and peaceful coexistence and integration with the other peoples of the region.

The Albanian Government, which at the beginning of the crisis was faced with the considerable burden of overcoming the humanitarian catastrophe, is ready to help and to closely cooperate unreservedly with the international community and the United Nations so as to achieve its objectives. We will make available all our means and institutions and fully implement the recommendations of this resolution.

Albania salutes the United Nations and the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for taking the major responsibility of implementing this important peace plan.

This grave conflict with catastrophic dimensions taught us some important lessons for the future of our Organization. The determination of the international community and NATO to protect human values and the efforts made by the G-8 countries aimed at the conclusion of a sustainable peace plan have already shown that the United Nations is moving towards a new role by putting the rights of people at the centre of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Čalovski (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): Let me first express the great satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you, the representative of the Gambia, presiding over the Security Council for the month of June, in particular at this meeting, which is of great importance for my country, the Republic of Macedonia, and for my region.

The Republic of Macedonia, which was always in favour of a political solution to the tragic Kosovo crisis, welcomes the Ahtisaari/Chernomyrdin/Talbott peace agreement and the adoption of the Security Council resolution.

We are pleased that the essence of the peace agreement and the content of the Security Council resolution are in accordance with the main purposes and principles of our foreign policy: the speedy democratization of our region and its full integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures; the development of good-neighbourly relations among the Balkan States; respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of the international borders of all States; and — this is of particular importance — the full observance of the human and minority rights of all peoples and of every person, in whichever State of our region they live, in particular in Kosovo and Metohija, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Republic of Macedonia would like to hope that this is the last war in the Balkans and that the Security Council is witnessing the end of the Balkanization of our region and the beginning of the period of its Europeanization, the period of peace, security and development. I was pleased to note the determined statements of the previous speakers and the Secretary-General in this respect.

It is important that what has happened in Kosovo be fully known. It is important to be fully aware of the broader consequences of the tragic Kosovo war. In this respect, I will take the liberty of mentioning my country, the Republic of Macedonia, and our neighbour, the Republic of Albania; it is important to single them out. Furthermore, it is also important to be aware of the contribution made by the Member States of the United Nations and of our Organization as such.

At the moment, we are faced with the very difficult situation of Kosovo and its future. At the same time, we are faced with the fact that our region has been very negatively affected. In our view, that should be the priority preoccupation of the international community and, of course, of our Organization.

Simply put, the international effort is a necessity if we are to alleviate the negative consequences of the tragic Kosovo crisis on all the States of our region. That effort will be the best way of preventing new conflicts and the best means of supporting the hopes of all the peoples in the region of entering a period of normal life, without fear, hate and revenge and with hope for a better tomorrow. We must, in the words of paragraph 10 of the resolution, "ensure conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo".

The task before us, therefore — before the international community, the United Nations and other organizations — is truly enormous. It is true that we cannot do everything at the same time. The

implementation of the resolution and the peace agreement have priorities. It goes without saying that the first priority is the goal of enabling each refugee and every displaced person to go home in safety and with dignity. It is a huge task and it should be tackled and achieved so that our Organization can feel proud of the result. There should be no hesitation in the implementation of the task, as set forth in paragraph 11 (k) of the resolution, of "Assuring the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo".

The recovery and reconstruction of our region is, of course, of paramount importance. The obligations and promises undertaken should be carried out. Of particular importance are the implementation of the international Stability Pact for South- Eastern Europe, adopted this morning in Cologne, Germany; the contribution of the European Union, the United States, Japan and other countries; and the contribution of our Organization and the Bretton Woods institutions.

The implementation of paragraph 17 of the resolution we have adopted is of crucial importance for my country and, I believe, for others in our region. That firm intention to promote democracy, economic prosperity, stability and regional cooperation in our region should be implemented in the spirit of the resolution, generously and without hesitation.

The Republic of Macedonia is doing all it can to help the Kosovo refugees in Macedonia. It contributed to the efforts to achieve a peaceful solution, in particular by hosting the Kosovo Implementation Force. It will continue to contribute to the stabilization of Kosovo and to the advancement of the region with the same spirit and deeds. We expect the same from the international community and, of course, from our Organization, the United Nations.

I noted with great satisfaction the important statements made in this respect by the representative of Germany, speaking on behalf of the European Union, and by the representative of Japan.

The President: I thank the representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sotirov (Bulgaria): Bulgaria associates itself with the joint statement made by the Permanent Representative of Germany on behalf of the European Union.

We have asked for the floor as a country neighbouring the conflict to express our full support for the resolution adopted earlier today by the Security Council. This act is of historic significance, as it lays down the framework and the prerequisites for a long-awaited peace in Kosovo. Bulgaria shares the view that a stable and lasting solution in Kosovo should be based on substantial autonomy and self-government within the internationally recognized borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This position stems from the necessity to respect the principle of the territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers of all States in South-Eastern Europe.

This political solution should be followed by specific steps towards the establishment of the structures necessary for a civilian administration, economic rebuilding and development, democratic institutions and the rule of law, as well as security and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms for all, regardless of ethnic background or religious affiliation.

The return before the winter of all those ethnic Albanian refugees who wish to go back to their homes in Kosovo is the key to a durable resolution of the present conflict. The presence of huge masses of refugees in the neighbouring countries constitutes a threat to international peace and security and to the stability of the region and of its individual countries. Therefore, the priority task of the international community is to create a secure environment and all other necessary prerequisites for the returning refugees. This process should be based on a coherent, credible and operationally viable return plan. It is of the utmost importance to render effective assistance to the returnees in the field, including temporary housing and the creation of acceptable living conditions.

Anything short of the successful return of the refugees would mean victory for the unacceptable policies of "ethnic cleansing". As we are all aware, this is a daunting task. Kosovo at the moment is a highly dangerous environment, with all kinds of unexpected dangers, including a large number of landmines. Furthermore, according to a number of humanitarian organizations, almost half of the houses have been damaged or destroyed, and the infrastructure has been disrupted. In addition to the existing difficulties, the

returning refugees could meet with other impediments. In our view, it is unacceptable for the exercise of the inherent right of all refugees and displaced persons to voluntarily return to their homes to be conditional on the will of the same forces that deported them, stripped them of their identity papers and destroyed their civil records.

The rehabilitation efforts in Kosovo could be even more challenging than those that led to the peace there. Bulgaria actively contributed to the peacemaking process and is now ready to assist with peace-building. My country has already declared that it will contribute to the implementation force and to post-war rebuilding by providing non-combat units and by offering transport and logistics support to the international presence in Kosovo, in accordance with the relevant decision of the Bulgarian Parliament. The Bulgarian Government has also expressed its readiness to deploy, upon request, a police contingent as a part of the international civil presence entrusted with maintaining law and order.

Of particular importance in avoiding further similar crises in the Balkans is the comprehensive stabilization and development of the States affected by the Kosovo crisis. The international community needs to play a decisive role in helping countries in South-Eastern Europe rebuild and develop their economies, their civil societies, their democratic infrastructure and their security relations according to their specific needs. In this respect, we support the Petersberg Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, adopted today in Germany, as an instrument of a long-term engagement of the States of the region and of the international community as a whole aimed at the promotion of democracy, economic prosperity, stability and regional cooperation.

One of the main elements of the future security structure in the Balkans is respect for and the promotion of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities. Along with the Albanian national minority, Serbia is inhabited by a number of other national minorities, including a Bulgarian one. Respect for their ethnic identity and for their cultural and educational rights is of primary importance for Bulgaria, and we will continue to insist, in the framework of future arrangements in the Balkans, on such guarantees from the authorities in Belgrade.

Today the Security Council has opened the way for new opportunities in South-Eastern Europe. Bulgaria will spare no effort in continuing and developing its active role in promoting regional stability and cooperation.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

The President: I invite the representative of Mexico to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tello (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico is pleased to participate in this meeting in which the Security Council has adopted the resolution endorsing the terms of the agreement reached outside of this forum to restore peace to the Balkans.

From the onset of the crisis, Mexico lamented that ways of achieving a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Kosovo had not been found and that force had been used without the explicit consent of the Security Council. My delegation can now say how pleased the Government of Mexico is at the return of the issue to this highest world Organization so that here we can work together for international peace and security.

While Mexico shares the outrage of the international community over the abuses of basic human, family and community rights, it has stated that the use of force, even inspired by the most noble humanitarian cause, leads to more violence and is hardly conducive to a lasting solution to problems.

Mexico was disturbed at the fact that this body, to which all Members of the United Nations have entrusted responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should have been so marginalized in the handling of this conflict. We have always believed that the solution should be sought within the institutional framework of the United Nations and in full compliance with international law.

My Government appealed to all the parties to resume talks to find a political solution based on respect for the human rights of all ethnic groups of the region and respect for the territorial integrity of States. Accordingly, my delegation is pleased that the agreements reached appear to contain these elements.

We are also pleased that the Security Council and the United Nations are today resuming their primary role in the maintenance of international peace and security in general and in the search for a firm and lasting peace in the Balkan region in particular.

We believe this resolution will be a key to the laying of the foundations for resolving the tragedy experienced by the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees who had to abandon their homes as a result of the conflict. We can never remedy the loss of so many human lives or the suffering and pain felt in that part of the world. But it is essential that the return of the refugees and displaced persons be carried out within a context that allows them to resume normal living conditions and to enjoy full respect for their human rights as soon as possible.

What we have experienced since 24 March shows the need for preserving at all costs the credibility of the system of international security enshrined in the San Francisco Charter. Otherwise, the rules underpinning the civilized coexistence of nations would be seriously jeopardized.

It will not be easy to rebuild Yugoslavia. It will take many years and the cost will be high. The effort to restore peace that is beginning today must be accompanied by the very complex undertaking of re-establishing the infrastructure that has been destroyed. This is an essential element for achieving the stability required to ensure a definitive peace.

We appeal to the parties to comply with all the provisions adopted by the Security Council, and we express once again our appreciation for the diplomatic efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order to arrive at a negotiated political solution within the framework of this Organization.

Mr. Burleigh (United States of America): I was so struck by the comments and observations of the Cuban representative that I wanted to make a brief statement about them. Of course, as the United States representative here, it was hard not to be struck by his comments. But while we are used to the tired rhetoric and antiquated analysis of Cuban representatives here at the United Nations, and we usually do not respond to them, I think a comment this evening is important.

I was so struck by the total avoidance of any acknowledgement of the human realities in Kosovo prior to the commencement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air campaign on 24 March that I wanted to react by pointing that out. Apparently the well-documented phenomenon of massive ethnic cleansing and terrorization and brutalization of the civilian population is not allowed to register on the official Cuban mind. I think the reason for this astonishing intellectual incapacity is clear to everyone in this Chamber.

The President: The representative of Cuba has asked to speak again. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): I referred objectively, accurately and respectfully to irrefutable historical facts. I had no intention of blaming any country and certainly not any people. I referred simply to facts indelibly recorded in history, which, unfortunately, have been omitted from this meeting.

I must say, for the benefit of the participants in this meeting and for the record, that the data I used about the exodus from Krajina are contained in a presentation made in the Security Council on 2 June by the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs.

One cannot bomb innocent civilians in the name of human rights. One cannot murder people in the name of international law. One cannot use warfare to prevent the exodus of refugees and the destruction of means of survival, emergency medical services and a population's food and water supplies. One cannot create hundreds of thousands of refugees through irresponsible, genocidal, criminal policies and then forget about them.

One cannot launch a war in the name of peace and stability. One cannot commit acts of genocide in the name of freedom. The United States commits brutal acts, yet its representatives are afraid of words. May the record show and all our colleagues hear that the bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a continuous and deliberate act of genocide. In the strictest legal sense, it is genocide to act systematically to deprive a defenceless population of its means of subsistence, to target civilian facilities when it is known that innocent people are present and to take the deliberate decision to kill them simply because they are there.

There has been talk of two separate wars. That is logical. One is the virtual war launched through the technological superiority of the United States with a great deal of money — indeed, opulence — arrogance and hegemonism. It is the war of "collateral damage" and no casualties. It is the television war, in which people are intoxicated by and voraciously consume images, as though nothing were actually occurring.

The other war — the war I spoke about — is the real war. It is a war in which innocent civilians die, children are torn to pieces; hospitals, schools and factories are destroyed; people suffer from a lack of water, electricity, food, operating rooms, x-ray machinery and dialysis; premature infants die; and trains, buses, refugee convoys, prisons and diplomatic headquarters are incinerated.

How can it be explained that the bombing continued and that innocent civilians were still being killed and wounded even after the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had agreed to the peace conditions? This was militarily unnecessary; ethically it is unacceptable; and, from the human point of view, it is criminal. History will never forgive the expression "collateral damage", which has been so frequently used in recent months to describe the incineration of innocent children.

The truth is, the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) must be prevented from overwhelming our countries of the South with military intervention and occupation, on a whim and under any pretext, just as, in past centuries, they overwhelmed our continents with poverty and calamity. The country that brought us the Viet Nam war, police brutality and politics for sale, where Lincoln's bedroom is for rent, has nothing to teach us.

It was NATO, not Cuba, that flagrantly violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State. It was NATO, not Cuba, that betrayed the United Nations Charter and usurped the Security Council's authority. It was NATO, not Cuba, that flew more than 35,000 attack and support sorties and dropped thousands of bombs and tons of explosives. It is NATO, not Cuba, that has carried out this genocide and is responsible for the killing and maiming of thousands of innocent civilians. It was NATO, not Cuba, that violated all of the international conventions, destroying an embassy and damaging over a dozen diplomatic headquarters.

The United States and NATO now come before the Security Council. Why are they here? They are coming to manipulate it. The United States does not pay the United Nations and yet it wants to use it as its fiefdom. When the Council — which is almost always amenable — fails to toe the line, it is insulted and flouted. When subjects do not bow, they are bombed. The Charter has been discarded at this meeting and called obsolete, but we must defend it. It is not a mere fistful of paper scraps — it is the basic foundation of the United Nations, its *raison d'être*. To forget that it remains valid would be to forget the bombing of Rotterdam.

I shall not respond to any personal allusions made by the representative of that "tiny little country", as was said in jest at a recent press conference. I will say, however, that the people of Cuba can come here and speak the truth with our heads held high because we have earned that right with our complete independence, with our heroic resistance to the dirty war, aggression and blockade imposed on us by the United States. We can come and say this because we are committed to the decision, which we reaffirm today, to defend our revolution, and we will do so to the very end.

Mr. Hamer (Netherlands): According to the representative of Cuba, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) violated the Charter of the United Nations. May I remind him that an effort to get the Council to support just such an allegation was defeated by 12 votes to three.

My delegation spoke today of a gradual shift occurring in international law, which is reflected in the resolution adopted today. We referred to the rule, now generally accepted in international law, that no sovereign State has the right to terrorize its own citizens.

It came as no surprise to my delegation to find Cuba again among the rare speakers today to come to the defence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; nor was it surprising to hear Cuba cling pathetically to the notion of State sovereignty, no matter what the cost to its citizens. We can perhaps explain the Cuban representative's statement as an illustration of the anachronism that Cuba itself increasingly represents.

My country is proud of its contribution to NATO's efforts to restore the Kosovar people's legitimate rights.

The President: I am afraid the representative of Cuba has again asked for the floor. I would like to appeal to him not to insist on taking the floor for a third time.

As he insists, I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement, but I would appeal to him to be very brief.

Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): I will heed your appeal, Sir, which is one that I hope all would heed.

The colonial Powers of yesteryear cannot come here and give us lessons in humanism today. Notorious for their omissions and excesses, they cannot hold up as examples the shameful incidents that have occurred in the Security Council. Cuba remembers full well the bombing of Rotterdam and old Europe. It stands ready to help history avoid repeating itself.

In recent weeks, alarming signals have emerged that a new historical cycle has begun. Europe, ancient and wise, should look to the national interests of its peoples and countries; that would be more seemly than seeking bellicose adventures in which it remains sadly subordinate.

The Cuban people has forged its own fate. The future will reveal what here is obsolete and what is truly valid. Until then, we shall defend the interests of the countries of the South — which are also the interests of Europe — and shall defend the Charter of the United Nations.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.